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MAY MEETING.

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 8th instant, at three o'clock, P. M.; the first Vice-President, Mr. WARREN, in the absence of the President, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported that the Library had received the gift in memory of Kingsmill Marrs of a collection of works, mostly English county, family, and general histories, from Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs (Laura Norcross Marrs). With these volumes there is a signed copy of David Hartley's "Letters on the American War" (London, 1778), second edition. The book bears the autograph signatures of "Titus Hibbert," of "S. Hibbert Ware," and of "J. Wingate Thornton, 1858, and the bookplate of Mr. Marrs."

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following accessions:

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, a photograph of the Gunther portrait of Columbus painted in 1542 by Sir Antonio Moro from two miniatures in the palace of Pardoe; also a photograph of Mrs. Julia Caroline Ripley Dorr, taken at Maitland, Florida, about 1904, by William Wilson-Barker.

From Baldwin Coolidge, eleven photographs of the memorial statue of Loammi Baldwin at North Woburn, and one of the Baldwin mansion there, taken by Mr. Coolidge; also a collection of medals.

From Dr. Farlow, a photograph of the Boston Medical Library, May 3, 1919, taken by Robert H. Pearman.

From the Bostonian Society, a lithograph of William Wirt by Pendleton, from a painting by H. Inman, published by John Marsh, 84 Washington Street, Boston.

From Francis Henry Appleton, a bronze badge for over-seas service presented April 24, 1919, by the Veteran Association Independent Corps Cadets, 1917-1919, to every past and present member of the 101st Regiment United States Engineers.

From Mr. Norcross, a bronze medal struck in France in honor of Clemenceau, designed by F. Gilbault, 1918; also a collection of English, French and Italian war posters and postal cards, three pieces of French war money issued in Nancy, and eleven American hard-time tokens.

From Mr. Thayer, a silver-gilt token, issued by the New England Italian War Relief Committee, for sale by the Galli-Curci Concert at the Boston Opera House, on June 9, 1917, designed from a drawing by John S. Sargent, to illustrate a story called "Nedda." Mrs. Lewis Niles Roberts was the model.

The Corresponding Secretary reported the receipt of a letter from Robert Gould Shaw accepting his election as a Resident Member of the Society, and one from Max Farrand accepting his election as a Corresponding Member.

The Editor reported the following gifts:

From Katherine B. Harris (Mrs. Edward Doubleday Harris), fourteen MS. volumes of transcripts from town records and epitaphs, made by the late Mr. Harris and constituting in form and in contents a unique compilation. Written in the almost engrossing hand, and with a special design, sometimes in colors, of title-page, the volumes bear witness to the taste and patient labors of Mr. Harris in his leisure moments from an exacting profession. The volumes contain: Records of the first Church, Cambridge; Births, Marriages and Deaths in Cambridge; Records of Lexington and Waltham; Lexington Epitaphs; Records of Medford and Arlington; Medford Epitaphs; Records of Newton, Brighton and Brookline; Newton Epitaphs; Records of Woburn; Jackson, Jefferson and Lancaster (N. H.) Epitaphs; Fitzwilliam (N. H.) Epitaphs; Meriden (N. H.) Epitaphs; Starr King (Jefferson, N. H.) Epitaphs; and Washington (Conn.) Epitaphs. Also some hundreds of papers of the Dolbeare family of Massachusetts, consisting of early deeds, merchant books, journals, bills, commercial and family correspondence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Of particular interest are the daily entries in the diaries and a mass of papers on ships and prizes during the French war (1755-1763) and the War of Independence.

From Dr. Edward Hickling Bradford, a series of eight volumes containing the records of voyages made by his father, Charles F. Bradford, as supercargo of the brig *John Gilpin*, from China and Manila to the west coast of South America in the early part of the nineteenth century, on account of the house of Thomas Handasyd

Perkins & Company, of Boston. Not only do they contain the details of shipments and sales, but also an examination of the wants in China goods of the South American markets, with samples of the silks and cloths. Also a volume of calculations of the foreign exchanges in 1825.

From the estate of Sarah T. (Mayo) Kingman a collection of eighty-three deeds, chiefly of the Mayo family, of property in Harwich, Eastham and Orleans, from 1693 to 1834. Among the grantors is an Indian, John Tom (1715), of Harwich. This collection is composed of papers received from the possession of Alice H. Marrs, Stanley W. Smith and John H. Paine.

From Mrs. James Goldthwaite Freeman and Miss Case, the Day Book of Thomas Blake (1786-1799); Master James B. Case's Manuscript Arithmetic, 1841, in Mr. Ainsworth's school, Providence, Rhode Island; a dance card of the ball in honor of the Prince of Wales, October 18, 1860, in Boston; the Order of Exercises at the Unitarian Festival, Faneuil Hall, May 27, 1856, and other papers.

From Baldwin Coolidge, notes of his great-grandfather, Col. Loammi Baldwin, on the transit of Mercury, November 12, 1782.

From Charles F. Jenkins, an account of sale of hay, 1755, by Francis Brinley, paid, in part, by a hogshead of claret.

From Dr. Frederick Cheever Shattuck, three account books of a sugar house in Boston, owned by William Downes Cheever and Caleb Davis, 1774-1796; and two account books kept by Dr. George Cheyne Shattuck of his practice, 1839 to 1849.

Albert J. Beveridge, of Indianapolis, Indiana, was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Mr. LORD presented and read extracts from the will and codicil of the late Robert A. Boit, making bequests to the Society, under certain conditions, all of which are specified in the following vote which was unanimously passed:

Voted, That the Massachusetts Historical Society accepts the devise to it by the late Robert A. Boit in the first clause of his will of the journals and log books of his grandfather, John Boit, and also all his own journals and diaries; and the said Society agrees and stipulates that nothing in the journals and diaries of the said Robert A. Boit shall be open to inspection, either public or private, or published before the expiration of fifty years after his decease.

Professor MOORE read the following paper on

JUDAH MONIS.

Judah Monis, the first Jew to receive the degree of Master of Arts from Harvard College, the first instructor appointed in the College particularly to teach Hebrew,¹ and the author of the first Hebrew grammar published in America,² has in recent years received a good deal of attention from Jewish investigators, diligent to gather all that can be known about the early history of their people on this continent. The *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* contain several articles which have to do with him along with others,³ and in 1914, Mr. Lee M. Friedman, a graduate of Harvard College and Law School, brought together what had been ascertained by his predecessors, together with much new documentary matter, chiefly extracted from the college books, county records, and the state archives.⁴ The finding in the Harvard College Library of a cabalistic manuscript that belonged to Monis and is in part in his handwriting gave me occasion to go over the ground again, and to pursue the investigation further in certain directions. These inquiries have brought to light some new facts, and led to a probable solution of the question of Monis's name and extraction.

The date of Monis's birth given in the books, February 4, 1683, is obtained by a simple computation from the inscription on his tombstone⁵ that he departed this life, April 25, 1764,

¹ Hebrew had been an obligatory study from the foundation of the College. In the beginning it was taught by the presidents, some of whom, like Chauncy, had a great reputation as Hebraists. At the time when Monis appeared on the scene, the instruction in Hebrew was committed to the class tutors.

² Printed by Jonas Green in 1735, and "sold by the author at his house in Cambridge."

³ Leon Hühner, "The Jews in New England prior to 1800." No. 11 (1903), pp. 80 f.; "Jews in Connection with the Colleges of the Thirteen Original States prior to 1800." No. 19 (1910), pp. 108 ff.; Joseph Lebowich, "The Jews in Boston till 1875." No. 12 (1904), pp. 102 ff.

⁴ "Judah Monis, First Instructor in Hebrew at Harvard University." *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 22 (1914), pp. 1-24. Of previous contributions especial mention should be made of two articles by Dr. George Alexander Kohut in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*, xiv. 217-226 (1898), and xv. 56 f. (1898).

⁵ *Infra*, p. 300.

aged eighty-one years, two months, and twenty-one days. Since the epitaph was doubtless prepared by his brother-in-law, the Reverend John Martyn, with whom he had been intimate for many years, and in whose house in Northborough he lived after resigning his instructorship in the College in 1760, the testimony is doubtless as trustworthy as Monis's own knowledge of his nativity. About the place of his birth there is no similar evidence. According to Hannah Adams in her *History of the Jews*:¹ "He is stated to have been a native of Algiers, who probably received his education in Italy." Peirce² speaks more indefinitely: "Mr. Judah Monis, a Jewish Rabbi, who was born in Italy, or one of the Barbary states, came to America in an early period of life, and about the year 1720 began to instruct in Hebrew." We are left, therefore, to what can be learned in other ways.

The name Monis is extremely rare among Jews. Indeed, until recently it was thought to be unique, and it has even been suggested that it might be an anagram for Simon. In 1898, however, Dr. George Alexander Kohut published in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (xv. 52 f.), from a manuscript in his hands, two Hebrew epitaphs from Venice in which the name occurs. One of them, of the year corresponding to 1642 A. D., is that of Esther, wife of Jacob Monis (מוניס); the other, of 1644, is from the tombstone of Abraham Monish (מוניש). In view of the singularity of the name, it is not improbable that Judah Monis was related to this family.

In answer to an inquiry, my colleague Prof. J. D. M. Ford informs me that Monis, or Moniz,³ as it is more often written, is a not uncommon Portuguese name. Egas Moniz, a famous Portuguese patriot of the days of Affonso I in the twelfth century, is celebrated by Camoens in the *Lusiadas*; Egas Moniz Coelho was a poet of the later fourteenth century;

¹ London, 1818, Vol. II, 211.

² *History of Harvard University*, 1833, 232.

³ Professor Ford remarks that, since the end of the fifteenth century, final *s* and *z* in Portuguese have denoted the same sound, which has come to be the voiceless sibilant, *sh*, corresponding to the customary pronunciation of the Hebrew *shin*. This would explain the fact that on the epitaphs above cited the last letter in one is *s*, and in the other *sh*, the former representing the spelling, Monis, the latter the pronunciation. Judah Monis wrote his name מוניש.

and a distinguished Brazilian statesman of the nineteenth century was A. Moniz da Silva Ferraz.

It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that Judah Monis was descended from a Portuguese Marano¹ family which had emigrated from the Peninsula in the sixteenth century. Some of these refugees from persecution sought the security of Moslem countries, especially in Algiers, and in Turkey, where they formed considerable and permanent colonies in Constantinople and Salonica; while others found new homes in the Italian cities and in Holland, and once out of the clutches of their oppressors, reverted to the religion of their fathers. In Venice, where they received special privileges and were protected from the Inquisition, they took an active part in the flourishing commerce of the city.² They had also a large share in the rising prosperity of Leghorn, where the Jewish community was for a time the foremost in Italy in wealth and learning. We find them also in Bologna, Milan, Florence, Naples, and even in Rome.

Everything that is discoverable about Judah Monis points to Italy. In the report of the ceremonies at his baptism in the *New England Courant*, we are told, ultimately, no doubt, upon his own authority, that he had "commenced *Mashkil Venabon*, in the Jewish Academies of Leghorn and Amsterdam." The title, *Maskil*, conferred on rabbinical students, was used chiefly in Italy, and especially in Tuscany, to indicate a stage of proficiency inferior to the rabbinical title, *hakam*. In the preface to his *Hebrew Grammar*, Monis acknowledges his indebtedness, as every grammarian must, to David Kimchi, and, besides him, to two more recent Italian grammars by Rabbi Archivoltz³ and Rabbi Templo,⁴ neither of which works seems to have had considerable currency outside of Italy. The pronunciation of Hebrew that is disguised beneath the monstrous system of transliteration for English-speaking students⁵ which makes Hebrew look like the speech of the lost Ten Tribes whom so

¹ The opprobrious name given by the Spaniards to Jews who professed Christianity under compulsion.

² "The Merchant of Venice" will occur to the reader.

³ *Arugath ha-Boshem*.

⁴ *Reshith Hokmah*.

⁵ For example, *Wauikrau Pela Yognetz ale Guibor Aubee gnaud saur Shaulome*.

many New England theologians recognized in the American Indians, is unmistakably that of the Italian Jews of his time. On the other hand, in his *Discourse* and *Essays*, Monis shows a familiarity with the writings of authors who lived and taught in Amsterdam and with books published in that city which would accord well with the statement that he had studied there also. Of his residence in Jamaica no record has hitherto been found, but in view of the commercial relations of the island, it is entirely probable.

Monis had been in America some time before his appearance in Boston. On February 28, 1715/6, he was admitted a free-man in the Mayor's court of New York City. In the volume of *Collections* of the New York Historical Society entitled "Burghers and Freemen of New York" (1885), his name appears as Judah *Morris*, and it is so reprinted among the names of Jews excerpted from these lists by Mr. Max J. Kohler in the *Publications of the Jewish Historical Society*, No. 6. Inspection of the original record, now in the City Clerk's office, by Samuel Oppenheim, Esq., of New York, to whom I am indebted for these facts, showed that the name was plainly written *Monis*. Mr. Oppenheim has been so kind as to procure for me the transcript of this record which follows:

City of
New York ss.

At a Court of Record held at the City Hall of
the said City on Tuesday the 28th Day of
February Anno Dom 1715

Present

John Johnston Esq^r Mayor
David Jamison Esq^r Recorder

Jacobus Kip
John Cruger Esq^{rs} Aldermen
Johannes Jansen

Court Opened

.
Abraham Peirara Tallow Chandler Judah Monis Merch^t Richard
Bishop Barber Surgeon James Padwick Baker & Thomas Ingram
Cooper were admitted & Sworn Freemen of this Corporation.

The Court adjourned till Tuesday next at ten o'clock in the morning.¹

For his "freedom" and the rights and privileges that went with it, Monis, in his quality of merchant, paid to the Corporation one pound.² An interesting page in the city accounts, of which Mr. Oppenheim has furnished me a photostat copy, attests this fact, and also shows where the money went.

New York Anno 1716, 29 Sept.

City of New York D^r to City Cash &^e £6.15.1½ for a Warrent No. 143, to Samuell Bayard for a Bonfire & Wyn &^e on the first Day of August Last being the Anniversary Day of his Maj^{ties} Assestion to the Crowne £6.15.1½

14 Octob.^r

City Cash in the hands of Samuell Bayard City Treasurer D^r to Lycences & free Doms for the City use, £18.8 being for the freedoms from 14th Octo^b 1715 to this Day.

Abraham Pereira Tallow Chandler —6. —

Judah Monis Merch^t. 1. —

Richard Bishop Barber Surgeon —6. —

James Padwick Baker —6. —³

In accordance with the eternal fitness of things, it may be assumed that the bonfire was for the entertainment of the populace, the "Wyn, &^e," for the mayor and aldermen.

Inasmuch as under the charter of 1686, granting to the Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen authority to make free citizens of the city, it was provided that "noe Person or Persons Whatsoever other then such Free Cittizens shall hereafter use any art trade Mistory or Mannuall Occupacon within the said City Libertyes and Precincts thereof Saveing in the times of faires there to be kept and Dureing the Continuance of such faires only,"⁴ while no period of residence prior to being made

¹ Extract from page 118 of the volume entitled "Mayor's Court Minutes From 24 May 1715 to 29 April 1718," in the custody of the County Clerk of New York County.

² Those engaged in manual occupations paid six shillings.

³ Corporation of the City of New York. Chamberlain's Office. Journal No 2, *sub dato*. (Deposited by the Controller of the City of New York in the New York Historical Society.)

⁴ For this and other information about the admission of freemen, the freeman's oath, etc., I am under obligation to Dean Roscoe Pound of the Harvard Law School.

a freeman seems to have been prescribed, it is not likely that Monis lost much time in applying for his freedom. His arrival was therefore probably about the beginning of the year 1715.

When Monis came to Boston or Cambridge, and what brought him hither is not known. The first evidence of his presence in these parts that has been found is a letter addressed to the Corporation of Harvard College under date of June 29, 1720, in which he submits to them what is doubtless to be regarded as a first draft of his *Hebrew Grammar*.¹

Most Rever^d Gentlemen

Having made an Essay to facilitate the Instruction of Youth in the Hebrew Language, wch probably may be publishe if there may be a prospect of its being serviceable, I make bold to present it, to Your Judicious perusall; I am Sensible not to be Such A master of the English tongue as to avoide Improperities in some Expressions, in wch I, must have your excuse, as also your Candour in the other part of my composure.

Being aproved by such worthier & Learned Gentlemen as yourselves, as some of the Best & Learned Gentlemen of the Desenters & of Different Churches have done, it will be gratefull to me, & I, do purpose to draw it over again (If God be pleased) with quotations & In Chaldean Characters² & Interim I, remaine Gentlemen Your m't humble servnt, to Command

JUDAH MONIS.

This communication, with the accompanying *specimen eruditionis*, not improbably backed by recommendations from some of the Boston ministers who subsequently showed so much interest in him, led the Corporation to confer on him, at the Commencement in 1720, the degree of Master of Arts.

The next that we hear of him is his baptism in the College Hall in Cambridge, on March 27, 1722, a description of which ceremony appeared in the *New England Courant* for that week.

Cambridge, March 28. Yesterday the learned and ingenious Mr. *Judah Monis*, (sometime Rabbi of the Synagogue in *Jamaica*, and afterwards in *New-York*, who commenced *Mashkil Venabon*, in the Jewish Academies of *Leghorn* and *Amsterdam*, &c.) made a publick Profession of the Christian Religion, and was baptised here by the

¹ This letter, from the college archives, is printed, as follows, by Lebowich, in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 12, pp. 102-103.

² What we call Hebrew square characters.

Rev. Mr. *Appleton*. The Rev. Mr. *Colman*, before the Baptism, entertain'd the Audience with an excellent Discourse upon Joh. 5. 46. *For had ye believed Moses, ye would have believed me; for he wrote of me.* From which Words he shewed how exactly several notable Passages of *Moses's* Writings have been accomplished in our Saviour Jesus Christ, concluding with a solemn Address to the *Rabbi*, who followed this with a learned Discourse, answering (from the holy Scriptures and their own approved Authors) Nine of the chief Arguments brought by the modern Jews to prove that the Messiah is not yet come. He introduced his Discourse with those Words, Psal. 116. 10. *I believed, therefore have I spoken; I was greatly afflicted;* and concluded with a solemn Profession of his Faith in the Messiah already come. The Solemnity was attended in the Common-Hall at *Harvard College*, by a considerable part of the Church in this Town, and as numerous an Assembly as the place would admit.

The corresponding record of the First Church in Cambridge is as follows:

March 27, 1722.

Mr. Judah Monis, a Jew by birth and Education, being converted to the Christian Faith owned the Covenant and was Baptized and Declared a Member in full Communion, with the Church of Christ, after a prayer & Discourse made by Mr. Colman from John 5. 46. and a Discourse of his own from Psal. 116. 10. answering the common objections of the Jews against Christ's being already come and giving a Confession of his faith in the Close. Sang part of the 110. Psalm. Which Solemnity was performed in the College Hall. *Soli Deo Gloria.*¹

A more permanent memorial of the solemnity is a little volume containing Mr. Colman's sermon at Monis's baptism, Monis's own discourse on the same occasion, and two further

¹ The following minutes, showing Monis's further relation to the First Church may be added:

May 28, 1722.

Att a Meeting of the Chh. at my [Mr. Appleton's] house, Voted, that Mr. Monis be allowed to partake with us at the Lords Supper upon the Acct. of the profession he made and the Covt. that was given him in the Coll. Hall provided that there be no objections offerd against his life and conversation. Feb. 5, 1736/7.

Mr. Judah Monis having desired to be received as a member of this Chh. in particular: there was no objection and he was accordingly publicly declared to be a member of this Chh. and Intitled to all privileges with the other Brethren.

“essays” by Monis. The volume has four independent title-pages, as if to pamphlets for separate circulation, and, besides a preface prefixed by Colman to his sermon, has another by Increase Mather introducing Monis’s three pieces. Mather’s preface is dated, May 1, 1722; Colman’s preface was written, as we shall see, after he knew that the Corporation of the College had appointed Monis instructor in Hebrew (April 30). Inasmuch as the descriptive title-pages, in the manner of our grandfathers, epitomize the author’s intentions, it may save words to quote them here, without attempting to imitate the typographical display of the printer.

MOSES A WITNESS TO OUR LORD / AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST

A / Discourse / Had in the College Hall / at Cambridge, / March 27. 1722. / Before the Baptism of / R. Judah Monis. / By Benjamin Colman, / M. A. and Pastor of a Church in Boston.

Rom. 11. 15. *For if the casting away of them / be the reconciling of the World; what shall / the receiving of them be but life from the / dead?*

Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, for / D. Henchman, and Sold at his Shop. 1722.

THE / TRUTH, / Being a Discourse / which the Author Delivered at his / Baptism, / Containing Nine Principal Arguments / the Modern Jewish Rabbins do make / to prove, the Messiah is yet / to Come: With the Answers to / each, not only according to the / Orthodox Opinion, but even with / the Authority of their own / Authentick Rabbins of Old. / And Likewise, With the / Confession of his Faith, / At the Latter End. / Dedicated to the Jewish Nation. / And Prefac’d by the Reverend / Increase Mather, D.D. / By R. Judah Monis. /

Boston: Printed by S. Kneeland, / for D. Henchman, at the Corner Shop on / the South side of the Town-House. 1722.

THE / WHOLE TRUTH: / Being / A Short Essay, / Wherein / The Author discovers what may / be the true Reason why the / Jewish Nation / Are not as yet converted to / Christianity, / Besides what others have said before him. / And Likewise, / He proves the Divinity of / Christ, not only with the Autho- / rity of the sacred Oracles, but even / by the Opinion of the Jewish Authors / of old; and answers all the Objections / that the Discourse brings forth out / of Isai. 9. 6,7. Concluding with a / Word of Exhortation. / By R. Judah Monis. /

Boston: Printed for Daniel Henchman, and / sold at his Shop. 1722.

NOTHING BUT / THE TRUTH: / Being / a Short Essay, / Wherein / The Author proves the Doctrine / Of the Ever Blessed and Adorable / Trinity, / Both out of the / Old Testament, / And with the Authority of the / Cabalistical Rabbies, / Ancient and Modern: / And that said

Doctrine is not a / Novelty, as his Country-/Men do think, but as ancient as / the Bible it self. / By R. Judah Monis. /

Boston: Printed for Daniel Henschman, and / sold at his Shop. 1722.¹

In his preface Colman gives Monis a high reputation for learning:

AS to Mr. Monis himself, it must be confessed that he seems a very Valuable Proselyte; (as a Learned Person² has said to me of him) and would be so esteemed by the learned & pious in one Profession or other of Christianity. He is truly read and learned in the Jewish Cabbala and Rabbins, a Master and Critic in the Hebrew: "He reads, speaks, writes and interprets it with great readiness and accuracy, and is truly διδακτικός, apt to teach." His Diligence and Industry together with his Ability is manifest unto many who have seen his Grammar and Nomenclator, Hebrew and English; as also his Translation of the Creed and Lord's Prayer, the thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and the Assembly's Shorter Catechism into Hebrew. And he is now translating the Larger Catechism; a Work I suppose never before attempted. To crown all, His knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, both the Old and New Testament is very happy and extraordinary, which he adorns with a laudable Conversation. Upon all which I may well add the Words that a Reverend Minister lately had to me; "Who knows what great designs of Providence may be hereby serv'd, respecting that People of Promise, whose Inlightning is so often the Subject of our Prayers."

Colman refers to the fact that the President and Fellows had appointed Monis to teach Hebrew, and gives the Overseers a hint that they might do more than that — a hint they did not take.

I trust the gracious God may mean Us (I mean the College and these Churches of Christ) great benefit from Mr. Monis his Services, if the Honourable and Reverend the Overseers of the College shall think good to confirm the Choice which the Reverend President and

¹ The copy of this volume in the Gay Collection in the Harvard College Library has on a fly-leaf the following ingenuous inscription: Jane Reed's / Book anno / Domini 1739-40

Jane Reed Her Book

God give Her grace therin to Look

And when the Bells begin to toal

The Lord of heaven receive her Soul

² This "learned person," as well as the "reverend minister" quoted further on was probably Increase Mather, who had been expected to preach at Monis's baptism, but was prevented by his infirmities.

Fellows, the present Corporation, have lately made of Mr. Monis to teach the Hebrew Tongue unto the Students; or rather if in their Wisdom they shall see meet to Appoint him Hebrew Professor: for which good and great Work we have no Man like-minded, as well as Capable.

The votes of the Corporation and Overseers concerning Monis have been printed in part by previous investigators. Unless otherwise noted, they are here reproduced from the records.

At a meeting of the Corporation of Harvard College in Cambridge, April 30th 1722.

12. Voted, That Mr. Judah Monis be improved as an Instructor of the Hebrew Language in the College, and that he be allow'd out of the College Treasury £50 for one Year from this day.¹

The stipend of £50 voted him appeared to Monis inadequate, particularly in view of his matrimonial anticipations, and he accordingly addressed a letter to the Corporation, dated May 22, 1722.²

To the Revd President and the other Revd members of the Corporation of Harvard College,

Revernd Gentlemen

I have been Informed of the Honour you have put upon me, in chusing me to be a teacher of the Hebrew Language in your College. The respect you have shown to me in this choice, I heartily and Thankfully acknowledge, and I hope you will Interpret these Lines as Testimonies of my Gratitude. Tho, I Believe I could betake myselfe to such secular Business as by ordinary blessing of Providence would promote my worldly Interest and estate, More than what I can expect by Instructing Youth in the Hebrew Yet I find myselfe steadily inclined and Willing to spend my time (If Providence favors my Design) in Giving the best instructions I can in the aforesaid Language, To all such members of the College, as shall be desirous to Learn of me. I think the More acquainted the Ministers of the Gospel are with the Hebrew tongue, and so with the Old Testament, the Better able they will be to understand the New Testament and so to preach our Glorious Lord Jesus Christ who was spoken of by all the Old Testament Prophets. But however

¹ Corporation Records, p. 77; Leverett's Diary, April 30, 1722 (p. 222).

² This letter is printed in the *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*, No. 12, p. 103.

necessary I may apprehend the knowledge of the Hebrew Language to be, and however willing and disposed I may be to teach it, yet Revd Gentlemen I, hope, you will give me leave to say, that the salary you have voted as an Encouragement or Reward for my Labour is not sufficient to support me, It is not sufficient to sustain me in my single state, much Less if I thought to enter into a married state (wch I have some hope of doing).¹ If I should speedily enter on the service you have chosen me to, the necessary furniture for a Chamber in College Can't Cost me much Less than thirty five Pounds, But if I had such furniture by me already (wch certainly I have not) yet the salary you have voted would not suffice to support me through the year. I hope Gentlemen you will Candidly Interpret this representation of my case, and if you Continue to Desire of my being an Instructor in the Hebrew in your College, I hope you will please to think of some method whereby a proper support and Maintainance may be afforded to me, and I shall count myself greatly obliged if you will let me know your minds in this matter as soon as you conveniently Can.

I am Revnd Gentlemen with Great Gratitude and Respect, one of Your humble servants

JUDAH MONIS.

In consequence of this appeal, the Corporation increased the stipend attached to the office.

At a meeting of the Corporation of Harvard College, in the Library, June 11th 1722.

Upon inquiry into the State of the Treasury, Voted, That an Addition of £20 be made to Mr. Monises Salary.²

These votes having been allowed by the Overseers,³ the President and Fellows made the following regulations concerning instruction in Hebrew:

Mr. Judah Monis having bin Late Chosen for One Year to Instruct the Scholars in the Hebrew Language, the Following Orders were agreed to with reference to his management of that Service, vizt.

1. All the Undergraduates shalbe obliged to attend his Hebrew Instructions, excepting the Freshmen, and Such others as Shalbe Exempted by the President and their respective Tutors.

¹ *Infra*, p. 299.

² Corporation Records, p. 77; Leverett's Diary, June 11 (p. 224).

³ Overseers' Records, June 13, 1722 (p. 33).

2. He shal have the like power and Authority to punish those Instructed by him for delinquencies in the Exercises he Sets them, as the Tutors have with reference to their Pupils.
3. These Hebrew Instructions shalbe attended four days in a week, On Munday and Wednesday in the After-noon, on Fryday and Saturday in the Forenoon, unless on those Frydays which the Bacchelors Disputations may prevent them in the Forenoon, then they shalbe attended in the After-noon.
4. These Exercises shal begin in the After-noon at two of the Clock, and in the forenoon, at half an hour past nine ordinarily.
5. That Every Scholar shalbe obliged to have an Hebrew Bible, or at lest an Hebrew Psaltar, and also an Hebrew Lexicon.
6. Their Hebrew Exercises shalbe as follows, vizt. one Exercise in a week shalbe the writing the Hebrew and Rabbinicall. The rest shalbe in this gradual method, That is to Say, 1. Copying the Grammar and reading. 2. Reciting it and reading. 3. Construing, 4. Parsing, 5. Translating, 6. Composing, 7. reading without points.
6. Mr. Monis shall forthwith enter on this Service.¹

The Overseers approved these regulations, with the exception of the second, which gave the instructor the same authority as the tutors to discipline students for neglect of their work. For this the Overseers, probably having doubts about Monis's experience as a disciplinarian and still graver doubts about the reaction of the students to his discipline, proposed the following substitute, which the Corporation adopted.

That it be recommended to the Corporation to fix the Mulct for delinquents in the Hebrew Exercises and that a list of such as are absent or tardy be kept by the Instructor and be returned from time to time to the President or their respective Tutors.²

The fines fixed by the Corporation under this rule were: for absence, one shilling; tardiness, sixpence; evident negligence, one shilling; contemptuous carriage, five shillings.³

The appointment of Monis was for one year. It was renewed the next year, with the following resolutions:

The Corporation, having had experience of great benefit to the College from the service of the Hebrew instructor, Mr. Judah

¹ Corporation Records, July 30, 1722 (pp. 78-79); Leverett's Diary, same date (p. 226). — The abbreviations of the manuscript are resolved.

² Overseers' Records, Aug. 30, 1722.

³ Leverett's Diary, Sept. 3, 1722.

Monis, the last year, Voted, that such an office be continued in the College, so long as a suitable person for that service can be found, and a suitable support for him.

Apparently the experiment of turning over all the Hebrew to Monis did not prove entirely satisfactory, for when he was reappointed in 1724, it was voted, on the recommendation of the Overseers, "that the Tutors of the several classes be obliged to instruct their respective pupils (except such as are entered with the said Mr. Monis) in the Hebrew language, as heretofore;" and "that Mr. Monis be obliged to instruct such of the graduates at the College in the Hebrew language, as shall attend him, at such times as the Corporation shall appoint."

For a dozen years Monis's pupils began their troubles with the Hebrew language by copying a manuscript grammar composed by him. The library of this Society possesses two such copies, one made by Jonathan Belcher, the younger, whose father, Governor Jonathan Belcher, is the conspicuous name in the dedication of the grammar printed ten years later; the other by John Cotton. The former, which fills thirty-seven pages in small quarto, closely and neatly written, bears on the front page:

Jonathan Belcher
His Grammar
Composed by Rabbi
Judah Monis
A. D. 1725

After the "Finis" is a note: Cambridge, Dec^r 27th $\frac{1}{4}$ past 12 in the morning.

Cotton's copy (59 pp. sm. 4^o) gives more exact information about the time consumed in the task:

Begun to write it October 17: 1727
Finished Nov^r 13 1727

At the end: "Finished Nov^r 13:1727, having been about 4 weeks." We can almost hear the jubilation with which he ended his tedious task:

Jamque opus exegi
Gloria soli Deo non
Hominiibus

On the front page, among various scribbles is this significant note:

Begun to recite it Nov^r 17: 1727

Finished I don't know when 1728.

In 1735, with the aid of a loan from the college,¹ Monis published his grammar, a font of Hebrew type having been sent over from England for the purpose by Thomas Hollis. This volume has been often described, and it would be superfluous to repeat the bibliographical particulars here.² Suffice it to say that, so far as a cursory comparison shows, it is considerably enlarged upon the manuscript grammar which his earlier pupils had to copy for themselves; but in plan and method, and largely in formulation also, it is the same. There is nothing of the Kindergarten about Monis's method; he starts in with close-packed pages enumerating and classifying the various functions of the so-called "servile" letters in word-formation, inflection, and syntax, to be memorized — certainly not to be understood — by pupils who knew nothing of any of those subjects. But he has set on the back of the title page an apposite pedagogic maxim, which his students doubtless took to heart and gratefully put in practice:

I advise Beginners not to perplex themselves about any Rule that at first view seems difficult, which will be of great Advantage to carry on their design in the knowledge of this *Primitive Tongue* with Success.

So long as Monis was the instructor in Hebrew, his grammar remained the text-book; but two or three years after his resignation a much more elementary work, based on one published in England by Israel Lyons of Cambridge University, was printed for the President and Fellows of Harvard College, without an editor's name,³ and probably introduced in the College classes, at least for beginners.

¹ On these financial arrangements and other matters concerning the publication and sale of the grammar, see Friedman, *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society*. No. 22, pp. 10 ff.

² Friedman, *l. c.*, p. 9, prints the prospectus, a facsimile of which, from a copy in the Prince Collection of the Boston Public Library, is prefixed to the volume of the *Publications* in which his article appears.

³ It may be surmised that the editor was Monis's successor, Stephen Sewall. Monis's own name has sometimes been connected with this grammar in bibliog-

In 1724 (Jan. 18) Monis married Mrs. Abigail Marret,¹ presumably the lady of whom he cherished the hopes he revealed to the Corporation in his plea for more salary.² The inventory of his property filed in the Probate Court of Worcester County shows that his home was on a lot adjoining land belonging to the Marrets.³ He owned also five acres of mowing land and five acres of pasture land in other places, the whole appraised in the settlement of his estate at £433/6/8.⁴ His salary at the best was no living, and for many years he kept a shop in Cambridge. In a petition addressed to the governor (Shirley) and legislature in 1753 for a grant from the public treasury supplementary to what he received from the college, he wrote:

And your Petitioner begs further to observe that he has kept a shop during his residence in Cambridge⁵ in which he once had a considerable stock, but by the means aforesaid is now reduced to Less than £26/3/4; and having no other Incomes for the Support of his family, but the Profits of that, with a few acres of land and what he receives from his Instructing above said, He apprehends that without further Relief—he shall now in his old Age, be obliged not only to Expend the Little that he now has Left, but be reduced to Want.⁶

In President Wadsworth's Diary are many entries to the effect that, on such and such a day, Mr. Monis was given a note (order) on the Steward for such and such a sum, most

raphies and library catalogues; but without evidence and against all probability. It was printed in 1763, by R. and S. Draper.

¹ Records of the First Church in Cambridge p. 75. Abigail, daughter of Edward and Hannah Marret, was born February 28, 1700-01. She died October 27, 1760, "in the 60th year of her age."

² *Supra*, p. 295.

³ In 1724 his lot was thus recorded: "To Mr. Judah Monis two Acres a Quarter and fourteen Rods bounded Easterly with the Countrey Road, Westerly with D. Kidder Northerly with Madame Olivers heirs and Southerly with J. Robbins's heirs."

⁴ See Friedman, *l. c.* pp. 7 f.

⁵ Inasmuch as Monis is recorded in New York as a merchant, it is likely that he came to New England in the same quality, and that he was established in trade before he wrote to the Corporation in 1720 (*supra*, p. 290). Was it in Boston, or had he already set up shop in Cambridge? That before his appointment as instructor he had made such progress in the affections of a Cambridge woman as to contemplate matrimony favours the latter alternative.

⁶ Friedman, Appendix A, p. 20.

frequently for nails, hinges, locks, etc., for the College, which he seems at this time to have customarily supplied with such hardware. Under date of August 4, 1736, we find that Mr. Monis had a note to the Steward for £2, 16sh., 8d., "for pipes tobacco, etc., for the Corporation."¹

In 1735 Monis acted as interpreter to the Governor and Council in an investigation of the loss of a Spanish vessel, the *Jesus Maria Joseph*, on the high seas.² In 1744, he, with the other teachers in the college, signed the academic counterblast to Whitefield's aspersions on the state of religion and morals in the college. For the rest, he seems to have pursued his prosaic occupations for thirty-eight years in respectable obscurity.

In 1760 his wife died, and, shortly after, he resigned his instructorship and went to live with his brother-in-law, the Rev. John Martyn,³ in Northborough,⁴ where he died on April 25, 1764.⁵

His epitaph runs:

Here lie buried the remains of
Rabbi Judah Monis, M. A.
Late Hebrew Instructor,
at Harvard College in Cambridge,
In which office he continued forty years,
But embraced the Christian faith,
And was publicly baptized,
At Cambridge, A. D. 1722,
And departed this life,
April 25th, 1764
Aged eighty-one years, two months and twenty-one days.

A native branch of Jacob see,
Which once from off its olive broke,

¹ Was it the turbulent Commencement that year (Quincy, I. 397 f.) that demanded so large an outlay for tobacco, "etc."?

² Friedman, *l. c.* p. 16.

³ Martyn's wife was Mary Marret, born April 28, 1706, and married in Concord, August 18, 1724.

⁴ Northborough was the northern part of the town of Westborough, in Worcester County. It was made the second parish, or precinct, of Westborough in 1744; constituted the district of Northborough in 1766; and created a town by a general act in 1775. The church in Northborough was organized in 1746, and John Martyn (A.B. 1724) was the first pastor. See *Manual of the General Court*; John Warner Barber, *Historical Collections*, etc., 1839, 589.

⁵ His will, with several codicils, is in Friedman, Appendix C, pp. 21-24.

Regrafted from the living tree
 Of the reviving sap partook.
 From teeming Zion's fertile womb,
 As dewy drops in early morn,
 Or rising bodies from the tomb
 At once be Israel's nation born.

II

The circumstances of Monis's conversion were such as to leave room for doubt, even in the minds of persons favorably disposed to him, whether it was prompted solely by new convictions, without admixture of more tangible considerations. In the exhortation which Colman addressed to him before his baptism, we read these pointed words:

It is easy for you to receive a place in the visible Church and Kingdom of the Messiah, but within it there is an Invisible State of Grace and Salvation; Are you *in That?* . . . Be sure that you have *no By-ends*, no sinister and corrupt *Views*, no *worldly Advantages*, in what you do this day. GOD forbid, that *these* should act you. We hope, *we believe* they don't: You have *solemnly professed* that they do not.

Mather, in his preface to Monis's *Discourse*, comes closer. After adducing some recent examples of the conversion of Jews to Christianity, among them an account by Dr. Kidder¹ of "two hundred Jews lately converted in the city of Frankford," he goes on to speak of many Jews who, having been "converted, or rather perverted, to popery, have after renounced their Christianity"; and then, with unmistakable significance, dwells on two notorious cases of similar defection in Protestant universities. One of these was Julius Conrad Otto,² who embraced Christianity and became professor of Hebrew in the university at Altdorf, and "writ violently against the synagogue; nevertheless this man, scandalized at the devotion of his brethren, quitted his profession and returned to Judaism." Besides Otto, "there was a Rabbinical Professor at Vienna, who was thought to be Zealous for Christianity, so that he

¹ Richard Kidder (1633-1703), Bishop of Bath and Wells. I have not had opportunity to hunt up the reference, which is to be looked for in his *Demonstration of the Messiah* (1684, and later, in parts, till 1700), or in his Boyle Lectures, 1693.

² Naphtali Margolioth; born 1562, baptized 1603.

translated Paul's Greek Epistle to the Hebrews into the Hebrew Tongue, who afterwards returned to his Judaism." ¹

To make the application plainer, Mather continues: "Many other examples I might mention, but I forbear. There is no cause to fear that Mr. Monis will renounce his Christianity, since he did embrace it voluntarily and gradually, and with much consideration, and from Scriptures in the Old-Testament." ²

It is evident from Monis's Discourse and Essays that he had been thoroughly indoctrinated in Protestant dogmatics and apologetics; or, to be more exact, had been diligently coached for the performance. The creed in which he defines the orthodox faith betrays the hand of an expert theologian. Throughout, he exhibits an extensive knowledge of Protestant theology and controversy,³ and, in the essay on the Trinity, the animadversions on the "Arians" imply an acquaintance with the latest phase of discussion concerning the person of Christ⁴ which is hardly to be attributed to a fresh convert from Judaism. "The voice is the voice of Jacob, but the hands are the hands of Esau."

Who Monis's theological adviser was can only be conjectured, but it is a fair conjecture that Increase Mather at least

¹ Mather means Friedrich Albrecht Christiani, who was baptized at Strassburg in 1673, and soon became professor at Leipzig (not Vienna). After teaching there for twenty years, he retired, and returned to Judaism. His life, with an account of his conversion, is appended to his translation of Hebrews, *Epistola ad Hebraeos ex Graeco in purum idioma Ebraeorum*, etc. 1676. The bibliographer Masch remarks on this translation, which is praised for its elegance, that it was the work "hominis malæ fidei, qui ad pristinum rediisse vomitum videtur."

² Monis was not, as Mather thought, the first Jew whose conversion is recorded in these parts. In Sewall's *Diary* (II. 65), under date, September 17, 1702, we read: "Lord's day, Mr. Bradstreet baptizeth Simon, the Jew, at Charlestowne, a young man whom he was instrumental to convert." According to an anonymous note among the Savage Papers (*Proceedings*, XLIV. 685 f.), Mather himself had been less successful. During a revival in the North Church, about fifty years before (i. e. before 1742), a visionary young woman, among other unfulfilled predictions, foretold, "that a Jew whom Mather the Elder has taken great Pains to Convert to the Xtn Faith, shall be converted. . . . Which three things never was verified . . . for the Jew went over to Jamaica and dyed a hardned wrech." The editor of Cotton Mather's *Diary* (7 *Collections*, VIII. 741) makes the self-evident observation that this Jew was not Judah Monis.

³ Some of this may have been got out of books, but to the knowledge of the books themselves he must have been guided by a theologian.

⁴ *Infra*, p. 305.

had a hand in the work. There can be little doubt that he was the "learned person" whose high commendation of Monis Colman repeats; he would have been the preacher at his baptism, if his health had permitted; he wrote a preface to Monis's three tracts. The outbreak against the Arians is quite in his mood at a time when he was much exercised by the decline of orthodoxy. The thing that might seem to militate against this hypothesis is that the mentions of Monis in Cotton Mather's *Diary* do not suggest any previous interest in him.¹

Whatever may have been the source of Monis's knowledge of Christian doctrine and the "Evidences of Christianity," he brought to his undertaking enough learning of his own kind. His references and quotations have a wide range — the Bible; mediæval Jewish commentators, grammarians, and lexicographers; Talmud and Midrash; Maimonides; recent anti-Christian apologetic and polemic; and numerous cabalistic writings, from the *Sepher Yezirah* down to the followers of Luria. Much of this erudition may be second-hand — the learned of all times and all religions have been unscrupulous about pilfering their predecessors' quotations — but at least the author knew where to go for it, which is itself learning in a way.²

Monis's *Discourse* on the occasion of his baptism and the two *Essays* which were printed with it are parts of one apology and defense of the Christian faith, as the titles, "The Truth," "The Whole Truth," "Nothing But The Truth," indicate. In the first he undertakes to prove from Scripture that Jesus

¹ The entries are as follows:

[July] 17 [1724] G. D. I would move Mr. *Monnis*, the converted Jew, to collect his Remarks in his Reading of the Old Testament; which may mend our Translations, or may lead us to a Sense of the deep Things intended by the holy Spirit of GOD, in His Oracles, which are not commonly observed. A Jew rarely comes over to us, but he brings Treasures with him.

[July] 24. G. D. Rarely does a Jew of any Erudition come over to Christianity, but he brings with him some Treasures of Illustration upon the sacred Scriptures. We have a Christianized Jew at *Cambridge*, who is a great Master of the Hebrew Language. I will putt him upon collecting and præserving the notable Observations, which he makes in reading the Hebrew Bible. *Op. cit.*, 741, 743.

² It is not likely that Monis possessed many of the books to which he refers, but if he chose to consult it, he would have found in Cambridge the library of John Lightfoot, the greatest of English rabbinical scholars, bequeathed by him to the College, and unfortunately destroyed in the fire of 1764.

was the Messiah foretold by the prophets; in the second, to prove the divinity of Christ; and in the third, the doctrine of the Trinity. They are "dedicated to the Jewish nation," with an apologia addressed to those of his race who may be surprised and incensed by his defection; and the argument throughout is directed to controverting Jewish objections to the doctrines under discussion, frequently by an appeal to their "authentick Rabbins of old," against modern controversialists, among whom he names particularly Isaac Abrabanel and Manasseh ben Israel.

In the Discourse Monis takes up the principal arguments on which the Jews rely to prove that the Old Testament predictions about the Messiah were not fulfilled in the time of Jesus nor since, and consequently that the advent of the Messiah is still in the future. He enumerates nine such arguments:

1st, That at the coming of the Messiah there shall be a Great War, called the War of Gog and Magog, made up of certain People, newly born for that Purpose, in which War the King Messiah shall Conquer, by killing the Enemy's King by the Breath of his Mouth.

2dly, At the time of the Messiah, the Ten Tribes with the rest of the Jewish Nation, shall be gathered together into one place, even in Judea.

3dly, When the Messiah shall come, He shall Build a third Temple in Jerusalem, as was formerly; but with more Glory and Majesty.

4thly, After the coming of the Messiah, every dumb Creature shall be as they were before Adam's Sin.

5thly, At the time of the Messiah and for ever more after, an Universal and General Peace, shall be all over the World.

6thly, The Messiah was to come at the end of the World.

7thly, The Mountain where the House of God was Built, Miraculously shall Grow up, and be higher than any Mountains and Hills in the World.

8thly, All Nations in General without exception, shall acknowledge him to be the Messiah promis'd by the Prophets of old.

9thly, and lastly, The very same Law that God gave to the Jewish Nation from the beginning, either Moral or Ceremonial is to be kept until the end of the World.

These are, in fact, stock arguments in Jewish apologetic. Most of them (*viz.*, numbers 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, and 9) are found — in a different order — in the letter of Ibn Vives Lorqui to the

convertite Paul of Burgos (Solomon ha-Levi), in the first years of the fifteenth century;¹ and are repeated, along with others, by later defenders of the faith, for example, by the Karaite Isaac Troki in his *Hizzuk Emunah*.² In some cases Monis disputes the interpretation; in others he distinguishes between the first and second advents of the Messiah, and postpones the unfulfilled predictions to the latter, as Christian theologians had done from time immemorial.

In the second tract, after disposing of the question why the Jews as a nation have not yet been converted to Christianity, Monis discusses the passages in the Old Testament which served Christians as proof-texts for the divinity of Christ, particularly Isa. 9, 6 f., and repels the Jewish objections to this interpretation and application. He finds the mystery of the Messiah's birth from a virgin mother in the anomalous *mem clausum*,³ of לְמַרְבֵּה (*lemarbeh*) in Isa. 9, 7, as many Christians had done; and combats the Jewish interpreters who held that the Immanuel child in Isa. 7, 14 was Hezekiah, averring that the verse was not so understood by more ancient authorities.⁴ In general, he shows familiarity with the common arguments on both sides of the question.

The final Essay, on the Trinity, undertakes to prove that the doctrine is not a Christian innovation, but is as old as the Bible itself, and belongs to the higher (cabalistic) theology of Judaism. Before he addresses himself to this task, however, he goes out of his way to assail the papists and the Arians, of whom "one worships idols *in actu*, namely the papists, and the other *in potentia*, namely the Arians, etc., and of the two I think (if I may pass my judgement) the last is the worst, for two reasons," etc. The "Arians" against whom here and elsewhere in these tracts Monis inveighs are not the ancient and long extinct heretics properly called by that name, but contemporary English divines, among whom Dr. Samuel Clarke (*Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1712) was at the moment making the most stir.

¹ See *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. "Polemics."

² Reprinted in Wagenseil's *Tela ignea Satanae*, 76 ff.

³ The letter, which has no opening, being a symbol of the unopened womb — the perpetual virginity of Mary.

⁴ The interpretation is not so recent and novel as he represents it.

Monis's denunciations of the "Arians" drew a characteristic rebuke from Thomas Hollis, to whom a copy of the volume had probably been sent by Colman. In a letter dated August 18, 1722, concerning the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, about which negotiations were then pending, Hollis comes to speak of Monis, and advises Colman "to instruct him a little farther in the Christian doctrine of more extensive charity, and not to judge too hastily of his neighbour, and exclude from salvation every one that differs from him in the explication and belief of the article of the Trinity. A glorious truth it is, but the manner of explaining it appears difficult; so difficult, that scarce two can say exactly alike, except they agree on a form and agree to write after it."

It is not improbable that Hollis, who was having painful experience of the temper of Boston orthodoxy, hoped that his Christian admonition might be passed on to those who presumably instructed and inspired Monis's polemic digression.

In contradiction to the perversities of papists and Arians, and to correct the opinion of the Jews that Protestants worship three gods, Monis defines the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the person of Christ in a technically formulated creed, with which he was doubtless provided by his theological tutors.

When it comes to demonstrating the Trinity to Jews, he announces that he shall not attempt to set forth all the proofs, "being it has been already done before now, by such as are more able than I am, and in likelihood, Than I am like to be." In fact, for the proofs from the Old Testament, he gives only a bare enumeration of the *loca probantia* commonly alleged by Protestant theologians, remarking, with unexpected frankness, that some of them are inconclusive, and that the Jews include all of them in this judgement. He attaches much more importance to "the authority of the cabalistical Rabies, ancient and modern."¹ From them he endeavors to prove that the confession of the divine unity, which is the corner-stone of Judaism — "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God is one Lord"

¹ It is not difficult to find a trinity in the Cabala, and not a few Jews found their way to Christianity through it. In the fifteenth century a group of such converts in Spain (Paul de Heredia and others) made a delectus of cabalistic texts to prove the fundamental Christian doctrines, and were followed in this enterprise both by converted Jews and by born Christians.

(Deut. 6, 4) — not only does not exclude a plurality of persons in the godhead, but, when rightly understood, involves it. In support of this assertion he quotes several passages from the Zohar, “that famous book, more ancient than the Talmud itself, composed by one of the sages of the Mishnau, by name Rabbi Simeon ben Johauy”; also, the Sepher Yezirah, “that famous and most ancient of all the books, the Jewish nation pretend to have (a book which some of them would have to be as ancient as our father Abraham, and of his composing also, as they say).”

Other cabalistic authors whom he quotes are, Joseph Gikatilla on the *Ten Enumerations* (*Sephiroth*), who writes of the “Three Highest,”¹ among whom “there is neither separation nor division”; Jacob Sasportas, *The Holy Temple*;² Rabbi Judah ha-Hasid, *Mateh Mosheh*; Bahya ben Asher (*Commentary on the Pentateuch*); and Rabbi Moses Caro [*sic*]. In conclusion, he offers, *de suo*, a new demonstration, by a complicated operation in cabalistic ciphering, that all three persons of the Trinity are included and comprehended in the name Jehovah. It is evident from the whole argument that Monis not only was acquainted with a considerable range of cabalistic literature, but that he attributed to it the highest authority. We shall see that there is other evidence of his cabalistic predilections.

III

Several months ago Professor Kittredge called my attention to a Hebrew manuscript he had come across in the College Library, on the first page of which the words “Judah Monis’ Book” were plainly legible through a cancellation. It was labelled, “Rabbinical Manuscript,” and in the catalogue, under Monis’s name, was entered merely as “Hebrew Manuscript,” without further description. The volume was given to the College Library in 1767 by John Martyn, Monis’s brother-in-law, to whom the latter by his will left all his books “whether in Hebrew or other languages.”³

¹ The first triad of the Sephiroth.

² I. e., the work under that title by Moses ben Maimon Albas, which Sasportas edited, Amsterdam, 1653.

³ Friedman, *l. c.* p. 23.

Twenty or twenty-five years ago, when a committee of the American Oriental Society was engaged in making a rough list of Oriental manuscripts in this country, Professor Richard Gottheil inspected this volume, and communicated his memoranda to Dr. George Alexander Kohut, who in the article on Monis already referred to gives the following description of it:¹

He also left the college a few pages of Hebrew MS. It has the signature of Monis on the fly-leaf, and was carefully examined by Professor Gottheil, of Columbia University, who kindly gave me a summary of its contents. They are all cabbalistic writings, being for the most part extracts from the book *Emeth le-Ya'kob* (explanation of the writings of ארי²), printed in Livorno, end of the eighteenth century. It consists of forty-four leaves, signed at the end: **אני יהודה מוניש מצאתי**. We shall not go into details.

It is somewhat strange that this note did not put some of the subsequent investigators of Monis's career upon a further inquiry. The manuscript is in reality of much more considerable dimensions than would be inferred from this notice, and its contents much more varied. It is a quarto of 372 pages, measuring 21.5 x 15.5 cm. The writing on the page covers approximately 19 x 12.5 cm., and runs 35 lines and upwards to the page; but it is not all the work of one scribe, and there is no uniformity in the latter particulars. The volume is made up of ten pieces, ranging in length from 3 or 4 pages to 150. The first (f. 1a-44a) is in Monis's handwriting, and is signed by him at the end, but, unfortunately, with no indication of the date. The others are in several different hands and scripts, none of them bearing either the name of the scribe or the date. What we have is, therefore, a collection of tracts or excerpts, one of which, at least, Monis had himself transcribed, while the rest were acquired from others and subsequently bound up together.

Professor Louis Ginzberg, of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, to whom I sent the incipit and explicit of the several pieces, with some photographs, very kindly put

¹ *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, xiv. (July, 1898), 226.

² I. e., Isaac Luria.

himself to the trouble of identifying the texts contained in the volume.¹

This is not the place for a detailed account of the sources from which these texts were transcribed; suffice it to say that they are all from cabalistic writings of the modern school which originated with Isaac Luria (1533-72), and had its earliest seats at Safed in Palestine and at Damascus.² This movement soon reached Italy, where Leghorn, through its commercial connections with the Orient became one of its chief centres, and in the 17th century it had eminent representatives in Amsterdam.

Monis's volume includes a short biography of Luria (*Maaseh Nissim*), which has been repeatedly printed, and two extracts from his works; several extracts from Luria's most influential disciple, Hayyim Vital; others from Jacob Zemah ben Hayyim, in the next generation; R. Abraham ben Isaac of Granada, and R. Naphtali Hirz Bachrach. Some of these works had been printed in the 17th or at the beginning of the 18th century (several of them at Amsterdam); in other cases they probably circulated in manuscript among such as sought enlightenment and edification in such literature.

A closer examination of the contents of the volume might perhaps show the things that particularly interested Monis in this literature; but its mere existence shows that he had an acquaintance not only with the classical Cabala, on which he chiefly relies in his arguments about the Trinity, but with the latest developments.

Among the evidences of Monis's learning which Colman recites in his laudatory preface, he couples with the grammar "his Nomenclator, Hebrew and English"; and in the preface to the *Grammar* (1735) Monis announces his intention to publish, "as soon as Providence will permit," "a significant, and a plain Nomenclature," as well as a Hebrew translation of the Shorter and Larger Catechisms and other works which he has prepared for the benefit of young beginners. Evidently, Provi-

¹ Except nos. 5 and 8, two short extracts, for the recognition of which the material I furnished proved insufficient.

² See the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, "Cabala," "Luria."

dence did not permit, and no trace of these works had hitherto been found.

A few weeks ago, by pure accident, I discovered in the College Library Monis's own manuscript of the lost "Nomenclator."¹ The first leaf has the heading, *Nomenclatura hebraica*; and on the last page, outside, in Monis's hand is written: "Short Nomenclator or vocabular in English and hebrew, Composed Alphabetically, for the use and benefit of my Pupils in particular, and for the advantage of those who are Desirous to obtain the knowledge of the hebrew Tongue in general; which may be that great help to understand not only the Sacred oracles in their original but even any Jewish author, (so far as Concern nouns) as also it may give great in Sight in the tongue to those, as to Compose it, — a work altogether new.

by Judah Monis."²

It is a little book of 28 pages, 16.5 x 10 cm., without covers, running 17 to 19 lines to the page, and commonly two English words, with their ordinary Hebrew equivalents, on each line; thus containing, by estimate, about 1000 words. The English words are not strictly alphabetized, as will appear from the following example:

A	Nomenclatura hebraica.
מלאך : שליח :	Angel. Apostle.
אויא : תקה :	Air. Ark.
פיה : מומר :	Ashes. Apostate.
אפ : קוף :	Arm. Ape.

The author's intention evidently was to provide beginners with a small vocabulary (nouns only) for exercises in translating from English into Hebrew. The words are not confined to the

¹ A slip of brown paper laid in the manuscript bears the following note: "A vocabulary by Judah Monis with his handwriting on the last leaf. The gift of Prof. A. Norton. Rec^d Apr. 28, 1841."

² Below, another hand has written this fragment of verses:

Women when good, the best of saints,
That bright seraphic lovely
She, who nothing of an angel
Wants but truth and immortality.

Who, silken limbs and charming
Face, keeps Nature warm

³ *Sic.*

Biblical diction, but include such as are found in rabbinical and modern writings.

Professor Kittredge recently found in the College Library a Spanish Bible, bound up with the English Prayer Book and Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalms, which belonged to Monis. At his suggestion, a brief description of the volume is added here.

It is a folio, handsomely bound in calf, with ornamental embossing on the front and back bearing the initials M. B.

The Bible is the version of Cypriano de Valera, published in Amsterdam, "en casa de Lorenzo Jacobi," 1602. At the foot of the title page is written, "Judah Monis's Bible. 1735." At the top of the page, "A Romish Bible printed in the year 1602"; and across the ornamental vignette, "A Popish Bible. See Gen. 3. 15."¹ What peculiar popishness the writer discovers in this verse passes my divination; the rendering does not follow the Vulgate, and gives correctly enough the sense of the Hebrew words, whatever difference of opinion there may be about the literal meaning of the rare verb. Moreover, Cypriano de Valera was a Protestant, as was also Cassiodoro de Reina, of whose translation (Basel, 1569) Valera's edition was a revision. The censure is probably not by Monis, but by some previous possessor of the volume.

In the front of the volume, before the Bible, the English Book of Common Prayer is bound in, in a handsome edition by Thomas and John Buck, Printers to the University of Cambridge, 1629. At the foot of this title page, also, is written, "Judah Monis's Book. 1735." The Psalms, in the metrical version of Sternhold and Hopkins, "with apt notes to sing them withal," from the same press and of the same year, are bound in after the Bible.

The Prayer Book has been revised with pen and ink by its owner to conform to changes subsequent to the date of publication. The collects for the days of several suppressed saints are cancelled,² with the general note, "Abolished since the days of King James the Second." In the Litany, King Charles'

¹ Y enemistad pondré entre ti y la muger, y entre tu simiente y su simiente,^m ella te herirá en la cabeça, y tu le heriras en el calcañar.

[Note] ^m. A sab. la simiente de la muger, Christo. Rom. 1, 3.

² St. Matthias day; S. Barnabe apostle; S. Bartholemew apostle. S. Michael and all angels. — Various phrases in the Comminations are also struck out.

name is struck out, and in the margin "George the 2" written; while at the foot of the page is added, "Queen Caroline, His Royal Highness, Frederick, Prince of Wales, the duke, and princesses, and all the royal family." The date of the revision thus falls after the accession of George II (1727) and before the death of Queen Caroline (1737), and was presumably prior to Monis's acquisition of the volume.

The College book plate gives the information that the volume came to the Library as the gift of the Rev. Peter Whitney, of Northborough, April 30, 1770.¹

Mr. RHODES read a paper on "The Chinese Question from 1877 to 1882," being a chapter from a volume about to be published.

Mr. TUTTLE read as follows:

THE BOSTON PETITIONS OF 1664

In the Society there are photostat copies of two petitions signed by many inhabitants of Boston, the originals of which are in the possession of our associate, Mr. C. P. Greenough, both without date except for a pencil memorandum on one which says, "Probably about Oct. 1664." In the heading is manifested "There earnest request that the present Government wth all there Libertyes may in there Latitude be still continued." A copy of another similar paper is in the Society's collection, the original of which is in the State Archives, and also signed by other inhabitants of Boston. This document bears the date October 25, 1664. Two hundred and thirty-seven names appear on these three lists showing the original spelling and handwriting of the subscribers, with the exception of a few names in one list written in the same hand, and some signed by a mark. They form an interesting group of Boston names, some of which are not found in Savage's *Dictionary*, or in any early Boston lists.

A question arises as to the exact date of the first two papers. On turning to the records² of the Bay Colony of the session beginning October 19, 1664, it appears that while the Court was

¹ Peter Whitney, A.B. 1762, succeeded John Martyn in the church in Northborough in 1767. He died in 1816.

² *Mass. Col. Records*, IV. Pt. ii, 136.

sitting on one of the following days "that seuerall persons, inhabitants of Cambridge, were at the doore, and desiring liberty to make knoune their errand, were called in." They then presented a similar petition, and "at the same time and the next day seuerall petitions of like nature from Wooborne, Dorchester, Redding, Chelmsford, Concord, Billirrikey, Boston, Dedham, & Meadfeild, and also one from seuerall inhabitants of Roxbury, all of which are on file." The third paper in our collection is addressed to the Court "Assembled and sitting at Boston this 25:8^{br}. 1664." This date fixes the time of signing and presentation, and settles the dates of all of the petitions as of October 24 and 25, or of the 25th and 26th.

The immediate occasion of this aroused public interest in the preservation of the charter privileges was the arrival in Boston on July 23, 1664, of two of the four commissioners sent over by King Charles II, Col. Richard Nicolls and George Cartwright, "about five or sixe of the clocke at night, being Saturday, just before the Sabaoth."¹ The subsequent meeting of the Council was held at their request on July 26. On October 19, following, the General Court met to agree upon a form of address to the King which it was hoped would lead to the preservation of the government and our liberties. Events during the preceding four years of the King's reign had gradually led to this appeal. On August 3, the General Court desired "the reuerend elders now in toune to afford this Court their best advice forthwith thereupon";² and they, with the ministers of Boston, must have played an important part in arousing public sentiment. These three petitions are all that can be found of the number presented at the session of October 19, which were then said to be on file.

The names on the petitions follow, arranged in alphabetical order, with a question in a few cases as to the correct reading.

ABRAHAM ADAMS
DAVID ADAMS
NATHANELL ADAMS
HENRY ALLEN
JAMES ALLEN,
EDWARD ALLEYN
JOHN AMEE

HUGH AMES
JOHN ANDERSON
GODFREE ARMITAGE
THEODOR ATKINSON
THEODOR ATKINSON, JR.
JOHN ATWOOD
FRANCIS BACON

¹ *Mass. Col. Records*, iv. Pt. ii, 157.

² *Ib.*, 119.

ALEXANDER BAKER
JOHN BAKER
JAMES BALSTON
EDWARD BARKER
RICHARD BARNARD
JOSEPH BASTAR
PAUL BATT
ALEXANDER BECKE
JOSIAS BELCHAR
EDWARD BELCHER, SR.
EDWARD BELCHER, JR.
RICHARD BENATT
JOHN BIGGS
NATHANIEL BISHOPE
BENJAMIN BISHOPP
EDWARD BLAKE
ROBERT BLOT
ALEXANDER BOGLE
EDWARD BOOD
PETER BRACKETT,
DANIEL BRADLEY
THOMAS BRATTLE
HENIREY BREEDSHOW
BENJAMIN BRISCOE
RICHARD BROCKE
WILLIAM BROWNE
CHARLES BUCKNER
JOHN BULL
THOMAS BUMSTED
GEORGE BURRILL
STEVEN BUTLER
THOMAS BUTTOLPH
BARTHOLOMEW CADD
RICHARD CARTER
ANTHONY CHECKLEY
JOHN CHECKLEY
THOMAS CLARKE
AUGUSTEN CLEMENT
SAMUEL CLEMENT
RICHARD COLACOTT
JOHN COLLENS
RICHARD COOKE
DAVID COPP
JONATHAN COPP
WILLIAM COPP
EDWARD CORVELL
RICHARD CRASE
RICHARD CRITCHLY
ISACK CULLIMORE
EDWARD DAVIS
HUM [] DAWSE
AMBROS DEW
HICKS DINNYNG [DUNNING]

ADAM DINSALL
JOHN DINSELL
WILLYAM DINSDL
HENRY DORSSON[DAWSON]
DAVID EAIST
FRANCIS EAIST
ROBERT EARLE
EDMOND EDDENDEN
ROBERT EDMUNDS
THOMAS EDWARDS
JACOB ELIOT
MORDETT ENGES
JOHN EWELL
JOHN FARNAM [JR.]
JOHN FARNOM
HENRY FELLCH
JEREMIAH FITCH
THOMAS FITCH
SAMUEL FLACK
EDWARD FLETCHER
THEOPHILUS FRAREY
JOHN FRINKE
DANIEL FRUIS
RICHARD GEORG
CHRISTOPHER GIBSON
JOHN GLOVER
JOHN GLOVER, [JR.]
EDWARD GOODIN
JAMES GREENE
EDMOND GRENLEFE
WILLIAM GREENOUGH
NATHANIEL GREENWOOD
JOSEPH GRIDLEY
THOMAS GRUBB
JOHN HARKER
JOHN HARRISSON
GEORGE HESKETT
SAMUEL HICKS
DAVID HITCHBON
CHRISTOPHER HOLLAND
RICHARD HOLLINGSHEAD
HENRY HORWOOD
ROBERT HOWARD
FRANCIS HUDSON
JOHN HURD, JR.
WILLIAM JEPSON
MORGAN JONES
JAMES JONSON
WILLIAM KILLCUPP
GEORGE KINGE
JOHN KINGE
WILLIAM LANE
RICHARD LOFT

JOHN LOUWELL
JOHN LOWLE
AUGUSTIN LYNDON
WILLIAM LYTHERLAND
ERNED MACKKENE
WILLIAM MARBLE
JOHN MARSH
ROBERT MARSHALL
HENRIE MASSON
JACOB MASON
RICHARD MASON
ROBERT MASSON
INCREASE MATHER
JOHN MATHEW
JOHN MAYO
ROBERT MEARES
HENRY MESSINGER
THOMAS MOORE
JOHN MORSE
THOMAS MYLER
BENJAMIN NEGUS
JOHN NEWGATT
JOHN ODLIN
JOHN ORRISE
JOHN PAINE
RICHARD PARKER
RICHARD PEACOCK
SAMUEL PEACOCKE
JOHN PEARCE
WILLIAM PELL
JAMES PENIMANE
JAMES PENN
SETH PERREY
HENRY PHILLIPS
JOHN PHILLIPS
PHILLEP PHILLEPS
WILLIAM PICKERING
PETER PLAICE
ABEL PORTER
EDWARD PORTER
JOHN PORTER
HENRY POWNING
TIMOTHY PRAT
TIMOTHY PROUT
JOHN RATCLIFF
CALEB RAWLINGS
JOSEPH RALLINGS
THOMAS RALLINGS
NATHANIELL RAYNOLLS
ESDRAS READE
WILLIAM READE
JOSHUA RICE
JOHN RICHARDS

RICHARD RICHARDSON
HENRY RUST
WILLIAM SALTER
ROBERT SANDERSON
JOHN SANFORD
HABIJAH SAVAGE
DAVID SAYWELL
JOHN SEARCH
JOHN SHAW
THOMAS SHEARER
BENJAMIN SMITH
RICHARD SMITHE
THOMAS SMYTH
JOHN SNELLING
THOMAS SNOW
JOHN STARR
RICHARD STEPHENS
THOMAS STEPHENS
ANTHONY STODDARD
DANIEL STONE
JOHN STOUDLY
JOHN STRIPPE
JOHN SUNDERLAND
JOSEPH SWETT
JOHN TAPPING
RICHARD TAYLAR
BENJAMIN THURSTON
BENJAMIN THWING
PETER TILL
RICHARD TOUTT
WILLIAM TOWNSEND
RICHARD TRUESDAL
EDWARD TYNG
THOMAS UNDERWOOD
ISAAC VERGOOSS
PETER VERGOOSS
THOMAS WAGGETT
ROBERT WALKER
THOMAS WALKER
BENJAMIN WARD
PETER WARREN
THOMAS WATKINS
RICHARD WAY
GAMALIEL WAYTE
RETURNE WAYTE
JOSEPH WEBB
JOSEPH WEDEN
THOMAS WELLS
JOHN WHITE
WILLIAM WHITE
JOSEPH WILLIAMS
THOMAS WILLIAMS
MICHAEL WILLS

JOHN WINSLOW
JOHN WISWALL
JOHN WITHERDEN
ROBERT WOODMANSEY
NATHANELL WOODWARD

JOHN []
THOMAS []
WALTER []
WILLIAM []

Announcement was made of the appointment of the following Committees:

House Committee: J. COLLINS WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

Finance Committee: WINSLOW WARREN, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, and CHARLES P. GREENOUGH.

Committee to publish the *Proceedings*: HENRY CABOT LODGE, JAMES FORD RHODES, and EDWARD STANWOOD.

It was voted that the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. LORD, NORCROSS, and KITTREDGE.